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ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

A Periodical,

CONTAINING

EXTRACTS FROM CLARKSON'S THOUGHTS

ON THE

PRACTICABILITY, THE SAFETY, AND THE ADVANTAGE
TO ALL PARTIES CONCERNED

OF THE

EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES,

&c. &c.

"Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy."—Prov. xxxi. 9.

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CLARKSON'S THOUGHTS, &c.

In examining a period comprehending the last forty years, I find no less than six or seven instances of the emancipation of African slaves in bodies. The first of these cases occurred at the close of the first American war. A number of slaves had run away from their North American masters and joined the British army. When peace came, the British government did not know what to do with them. Their services were no longer wanted. To leave them behind to fall again in the power of their masters would have been great cruelty as well as injustice; and as to taking them to England, what could have been done with them there? It was at length determined to give them their liberty, and to disband them in Nova Scotia, and to settle them there upon grants of land as *British subjects* and as *free men*. The Nova Scotians, on learning their destination, were alarmed.—They could not bear the thought of having such a number of black persons among them, and particularly as these understood the use of arms. The government, however, persevering in its original intention, they were conveyed to Halifax, and distributed from thence into the country. Their number, comprehending men, women, and children, were two thousand and upwards. To gain their livelihood, some of them worked upon little portions of land of their own; others worked as carpenters; others became fishermen; and others worked for hire in other ways. In process of time they raised places of worship of their own, and had ministers of their own from their own body. They led a harmless life, and gained the character of an industrious and honest people from their white neighbors. A few years afterwards the land in Nova Scotia being found too poor to answer, and the climate too cold for their constitutions, a number of them, to the amount of between thirteen and fourteen hundred, volunteered to form a new colony, which was then first thought of, at Sierra Leone. Accordingly, having been conveyed there, they realized the object in view; and they are to be found there, they or their descendants, most of them in independent and some of them in affluent circumstances, at the present day.

A second case may be taken from what occurred at the close of the second, or last American war. It may be remembered that a large British and naval force, having on board a powerful land force, sailed in the year 1814, to make a descent on the coast of the southern States of America. The British army, when landed,

marched to Washington, and burnt most of its public buildings. It was engaged also at different times with the American army in the field. During these expeditions, some hundreds of slaves in these parts joined the British standard by invitation. When the campaign was over, the same difficulty occurred about disposing of these as in the former case. It was determined at length to ship them to Trinidad as *free laborers*. But here, that is, at Trinidad, an objection was started against receiving them, but on a different ground from that which had been started in the similar case in Nova Scotia. The planters of Trinidad were sure that no free negroes would ever work, and therefore that the slaves in question would, if made free and settled among them, support themselves by *plunder*. Sir Ralph Woodford, however, the governor of the island, resisted the outcry of these prejudices. He received them into the island, and settled them where he supposed the experiment would be most safely made. The result has shown his discernment. These very men, formerly slaves in the southern States of America, and afterwards emancipated in a body at Trinidad, are now earning their own livelihood, and with so much industry and good conduct that the calumnies originally spread against them have entirely died away.

A third case may comprehend those negroes, who lately formed what we call our West Indian black regiments. Some of these had been originally purchased in Africa, not as slaves but recruits, and others in Jamaica and elsewhere. They had all served as soldiers in the West Indies. At length certain of these regiments were transported to Sierra Leone and disbanded there, and the individuals composing them received their discharge as *free men*. This happened in the spring of 1819. Many hundreds of them were set at liberty at once upon this occasion.—Some of these were afterwards marched into the interior, where they founded Waterloo, Hastings, and other villages. Others were shipped to the Isles de Loss, where they made settlements in like manner. Many, in both cases, took with them their wives, which they had brought from the West Indies, and others selected wives from the natives on the spot. They were all settled upon grants given them by the government. It appears from accounts received from Sir Charles McCarthy, to the governor of Sierra Leone, that they have conducted themselves to his satisfaction, and that they will prove a valuable addition to that colony.

A fourth case may comprehend what we call the *captured negroes* in the colony now mentioned. These are totally distinct from those either in the first or in the last of the cases which have been mentioned. It is well known that these were taken out of slave ships captured at different times from the commencement of the abolition of the slave trade to the present moment, and that on being landed they were made free. After having been recruited in their health they were marched in bodies into the interior, where they were taught to form villages and to cultivate land for themselves. They were made free as they were landed from the vessels, from fifty to two or three hundred at a time. They occupy at present twelve towns, in which they have both their churches and their schools.—Regents Town having been one of the first established, containing about thirteen hundred souls, stands foremost in improvement, and has become a pattern for industry and good example. The people there have now fallen entirely into the habits of English society. They are decently and respectably dressed. They attend divine worship regularly. They exhibit an orderly and moral conduct. In their town little shops are now beginning to make their appearance; and their lands show the marks of extraordinary cultivation. Many of them, after having supplied their own wants for the year, have a surplus produce in hand for the purchase of superfluities or comforts.

Here then are four cases of slaves, either Africans or descendants of Africans, emancipated in considerable bodies at a time. I have kept them by themselves, because they are of a different complexion from those which I intend should follow. I shall now reason upon them. Let me premise, however, that I shall consider the three first of the cases as one, so that the same reasoning will do for all. They are alike indeed in their main features; and we must consider this as sufficient; for to attend minutely to every shade of difference,* which may occur in every case, would be to bewilder the reader, and to swell the size of my work unnecessarily, or without conferring an adequate benefit to the controversy on either side.

It will be said then (for my reasoning will consist principally in answering objections on the present occasion) that the three first cases are not strictly analogous to that of our West Indian slaves, whose emancipation we are seeking. It will be contended, that the slaves in our West Indian colonies have been constantly in an abject and degraded state. Their faculties are benumbed. They have contracted all the vices of slavery. They have become habitual thieves and liars. Their bosoms burn with revenge against the whites. How then can persons in such a state be fit to receive their free-

* A part of the black regiments were bought in Africa as recruits, and were not transported in slave ships, and never under West India masters: but it was only a small part compared with the whole number in the three cases.

dom? The slaves, on the other hand, who are comprehended in the three cases above mentioned, found in the British army a school as it were, which fitted them by degrees for making a good use of their liberty. While they were there, they were never out of the reach of discipline, and yet were daily left to themselves to act as free men. They obtained also in this preparatory school some knowledge of the customs of civilized life. They were in the habit also of mixing familiarly with the white soldiers.—Hence, it will be said, they were in a state much more favorable for undergoing a change in their condition than the West Indian slaves before mentioned. I admit all this. I admit the difference between the two situations, and also the preference which I myself should give to the one above the other on account of its desirable tendencies. But I never stated, that our West Indian slaves were to be emancipated suddenly, but by degrees. I always, on the other hand, took it for granted, that they were to have their preparatory school also. Nor must it be forgotten, as a comparison has been instituted, that if there was less danger in emancipating the other slaves, because they had received something like a preparatory education for the change, there was far more in another point of view, because they were all acquainted with the use of arms. This is a consideration of great importance; but particularly when we consider the prejudices of the blacks against the whites; for would our West Indian planters be as much at their ease, as they now are, if their slaves had acquired a knowledge of the use of arms, or would they think them on this account more or less fit for emancipation?

It will be said again, that the fourth case, consisting of the Sierra Leone captured negroes, is not strictly analogous to the one in point.—These had probably been slaves but for a short time.—say a few months, including the time which elapsed between their reduction to slavery and their embarkation from Africa, and between this their embarkation and their capture upon the ocean. They had scarcely been slaves when they were returned to the rank of free men.—Little or no change therefore could have been effected in so short an interim in their disposition and their character; and, as they were never carried to the West Indies, so they never could have contracted the bad habits, or the degradation or vices, of the slavery there. It will be contended therefore, that they were better, or less hazardous, subjects for emancipation, than the slaves in our colonies. I admit this objection, and I give it its full weight. I admit it to be less hazardous to emancipate a new than an old slave. And yet the case of the Sierra Leone captured negroes is a very strong one. They were all Africans. They were all slaves. They must have contracted as mortal a hatred of the whites from their sufferings on board ship by fetters, whips, and suffocation in the hold, as the West Indian from those severities which are at-

tached to their bondage upon shore. Under these circumstances then we find them *made free*; but, observe, not after any *preparatory* discipline, but almost *suddenly*, and *not singly*, but *in bodies* at a time. We find them also settled or made to live under the *unnatural* government of the *whites*; and, what is more extraordinary, we find their present number, as compared with that of the whites in the same colony, nearly as *one hundred and fifty to one*; notwithstanding which superiority, fresh emancipations are constantly taking place, as fresh cargoes of the captured arrive in port.

It will be said, lastly, that all the four cases put together prove nothing. They can give us nothing like a *positive assurance*, that the Negro slaves in our colonies would pass through the ordeal of emancipation without danger to their masters or the community at large. Certainly not. Nor if these instances had been far more numerous than they are, could they, in this world of accidents, have given us a *moral certainty of this*. They afford us, however, a *hope*, that emancipation is practicable without danger: for will any one pretend to say, that we should have had as much reason for entreating such a hope, *if no such instances had occurred*; or that we should not have had reason to despair, *if four such experiments had been made, and if they had all failed*? They afford us gain ground for believing, that there is a peculiar softness, and plasticity, and pliability in the African character. This softness may be collected almost every where from the Travels of Mr. Munro Park, and has been noticed by other writers, who have contrasted it with the unbending ferocity of the North American Indians and other tribes. But if this be a feature in the African character, we may account for the uniformity of the conduct of those Africans, who were liberated on the several occasions above mentioned, or for their yielding so uniformly to the impressions, which had been given them by their superiors, after they had been made free; and, if this be so, why should not our colonial slaves, if emancipated, conduct themselves in the same manner? Besides, I am not sure whether the good conduct of the liberated in these cases was not to be attributed in part to a sense of interest, when they came to know, that their condition *was to be improved*. Self-interest is a leading principle with all who are born into the world; and why is the Negro slave in our colonies to be shut out from this common feeling of our nature?—Why is he to rise against his master, when he is informed that his condition is to be bettered? Did not the planters, as I have before related, declare in the House of Commons in the year 1816, that their Negroes had then imbibed the idea that they were to be made free, and that they were *extremely restless on that account*? But what was the cause of all this restlessness? Why, undoubtedly the thought of their emancipation was so interesting, or rather a matter of such exceedingly

great joy to them, that *they could not help thinking and talking of it*. And would not this be the case with our negroes at this moment, if such a prospect were to be set before them? But if they would be overjoyed at this prospect, is it likely they would cut the throats of those who should attempt to realize it? Would they not, on the other hand, be disposed to conduct themselves equally well as the other African slaves before mentioned, when they came to know, that they were immediately to be prepared for the reception of this great blessing, the *first guarantee* of which would be an *immediate and living experience* of better laws and better treatment?

The fifth case may comprehend the slaves of St. Domingo as they were made free at different intervals in the course of the French Revolution.

To do justice to this case, I must give a history of the different circumstances connected with it. It may be remembered, then, that when the French Revolution, which decreed equality of rights to all citizens, had taken place, the *free people of color* of St. Domingo, many of whom were persons of large property and liberal education, petitioned the National Assembly, that they might enjoy the same political privileges as the *Whites* there. At length the subject of the petition was discussed, but not till the 8th of March 1790, when the Assembly agreed upon a decree concerning it. The decree, however, was worded so ambiguously, that the two parties in St. Domingo, the *whites* and the *people of color*, interpreted each of them in its own favor. This difference of interpretation gave rise to animosities between them, and these animosities were augmented by political party-spirit, according as they were royalists or partizans of the French Revolution, so that the disturbances took place and blood was shed.

In the year 1791, the people of color petitioned the Assembly again, but principally for an explanation of the decree in question. On the 15th May, the subject was taken into consideration, and the result was another decree in explicit terms, which determined, that the *people of color* in all the French islands were entitled to all the rights of citizenship, provided *they were born of free parents, on both sides*. The news of this decree had no sooner arrived at the Cape, than it produced an indignation almost amounting to phrensy among the *whites*. They directly trampled under foot the national cockade, and with difficulty were prevented from seizing all the French merchant ships in the roads. After this the two parties armed against each other. Even camps began to be formed. Horrible massacres and conflagrations followed, the reports of which, when brought to the mother-country, were so terrible, that the Assembly abolished the decree in favor of the *free people of color* in the same year.

In the year 1792, the news of the rescinding of the decree as now stated, produced, when it

reached St. Domingo, as much irritation among the people of color, as the news of the passing of it had done among the whites, and hostilities were renewed between them, so that new battles, massacres, and burnings, took place. Suffice it to say, that as soon as these events became known in France, the Conventional Assembly, which had then succeeded the Legislative, took them into consideration. Seeing, however, nothing but difficulties and no hope of reconciliation on either side, they knew not what other course to take than to do justice, whatever the consequences might be. They resolved, accordingly, in the month of April, that the decree of 1791, which had been both made and reversed by the preceding Assembly in the same year should stand good. They restored therefore the people of color to the privileges which had been before voted to them, and appointed Santhonax, Polverel, and another, to repair in person to St. Domingo, with a large body of troops, and to act there as commissioners, and, among other things, to enforce the decree and to keep the peace.

In the year 1793, the same divisions and the same bad blood continuing, notwithstanding the arrival of the commissioners, a very trivial matter, viz. a quarrel between a *mulatto* and a *white man* (an officer in the French marine,) gave rise to new disasters. This quarrel took place on the 20th of June. On the same day the seamen left their ships in the roads, and came on shore, and made common cause of the affair with the white inhabitants of the town. On the other side were opposed the mulattos and other people of color, and these were afterwards joined by some insurgent blacks. The battle lasted nearly two days. During this time the arsenal was taken and plundered, and some thousands were killed in the streets, and more than half the town was burnt. The commissioners, who were spectators of this horrible scene, and who had done all they could to restore peace, escaped unhurt; but they were left upon a heap of ruins, and with but little more power than the authority which their commission gave them. They had only about a thousand troops left in the place. They determined, therefore, under these circumstances, to call in the Negro Slaves in the neighborhood to their assistance. They issued a proclamation in consequence, by which *they promised to give freedom to all the blacks who were willing to range themselves under the banners of the republic.* This was the first proclamation made by public authority for emancipating slaves in St. Domingo. It is usually called the proclamation of Santhonax, though both commissioners had a hand in it; and sometimes, in allusion to the place where it was issued (the Cape,) the proclamation of the North. The result of it was, that a considerable number of slaves came in and were enfranchised.

Soon after this transaction Polverel left his colleague Santhonax at the Cape, and went in his capacity of commissioner to Port au Prince,

the capital of the West. Here he found every thing quiet, and cultivation in a flourishing state. From Port au Prince he visited Les Cayes, the capital of the South. He had not, however, been long there, before he found that the minds of the slaves began to be in an unsettled state. They had become acquainted with what had taken place in the north, not only with the riots at the Cape, but the proclamation of Santhonax. Now this proclamation, though it sanctioned freedom only for a particular and temporary purpose, did not exclude it from any particular quarter. The terms therefore appeared to be open to all who would accept them. Polverel, therefore, seeing the impression which it had begun to make upon the minds of the slaves in these parts, was convinced that emancipation could be neither stopped nor retarded, and that it was absolutely necessary for the *personal safety of the white planters*, that it should be extended to the whole island. He was so convinced of the necessity of this, that he drew up a proclamation without further delay to that effect, and put it into circulation. He dated it from Les Cayes. He exhorted the planters to patronize it. He advised them, if they wished to avoid the most serious calamities, to concur themselves in the proposition of giving freedom to their slaves. He then caused a register to be opened at the government house to receive the signatures of all those who should approve of his advice. It was remarkable that all the proprietors in these parts inscribed their names in the book. He then caused a similar register to be opened at Port au Prince for the West. Here the same disposition was found to prevail. All the planters, except one, gave in their signatures. They had become pretty generally convinced by this time, that their own personal safety was connected with the measure. It may be proper to observe here, that the proclamation last mentioned, which preceded these registries, though it was the act of Polverel alone, was sanctioned afterwards by Santhonax. It is, however, usually called the proclamation of Polverel or of Les Cayes. It came out in September 1793. We may now add, that in the month of February 1794, the Conventional Assembly of France, though probably ignorant of what the commissioners had now done, passed a decree for the abolition of slavery throughout the whole of the French colonies. Thus the government of the mother-country, without knowing it, confirmed freedom to those upon whom it had been bestowed by the commissioners. This decree put therefore the finishing stroke to the whole. It completed the emancipation of the whole slave population of St. Domingo.

Having now given a concise history of the abolition of slavery in St. Domingo, I shall inquire how those who were liberated on these several occasions conducted themselves after this change in their situation. It is of great importance to us to know, whether they used their

freedom properly, or whether they abused it.

With respect to those emancipated by Santhonax in the North, we have nothing to communicate. They were made free for military purposes only; and we have no clue whereby we can find out what became of them afterwards.

With respect to those who were emancipated next in the South, and directly afterwards in the West, by the proclamation of Polverel, we are enabled to give a very pleasing account. Fortunately for our views, Colonel Malenfant, who was resident in the island at the time, has made us acquainted with their general conduct and character. His account, though short, is quite sufficient for our purpose. Indeed it is highly satisfactory*. "After this public act of emancipation," says he, (by Polverel,) "the negroes remained quiet both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates, indeed, which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, for some of these had been put into prison by Montbrun; and others, fearing the same fate, had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English. Yet upon these estates, though abandoned, the Negroes continued their labor, where there were any, even inferior, agents to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions; but upon all the plantations where the Whites resided, the Blacks continued to labor as quietly as before." A little further on in the work, ridiculing the notion entertained in France, that the Negroes would not work without compulsion, he takes occasion to allude to other Negroes, who had been liberated by the same proclamation, but who were more immediately under his own eye and cognizance. "If," says he, "you will take care not to speak to them of their return to slavery, but talk to them of their liberty, you may with this latter word chain them down to their labor. How did Tousaint succeed? How did I succeed also before his time in the plain of the Cul de Sac, and on the Plantation Gouraud, more than eight months after liberty had been granted (by Polverel) to the slaves? Let those who knew me at the time, and even the blacks, themselves, be asked. They will reply that not a single Negro upon that plantation, consisting of more than four hundred and fifty laborers, refused to work; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline, and the slaves most idle of any in the plain. I, myself, inspired the same activity into three other plantations, of which I had the management."

The above account is far beyond any thing that could have been expected. Indeed, it is most gratifying. We find that the liberated

Negroes, both in the South and West, continued to work upon their old plantations, and for their old masters; that there was also a spirit of industry among them; that they gave no uneasiness to their employers; for they are described as continuing to work as quietly as before. Such was the conduct of the Negroes for the first nine months of their liberation, or up to the middle of 1794. Let us pursue the subject and see how they conducted themselves after this period.

During the year 1795 and part of 1796 I learn nothing about them; neither good, bad nor indifferent, though I have ransacked the French historians for this purpose. Had there however, been any thing in the way of outrage, I should have heard of it; and let me take this opportunity of setting my readers right, if, for want of knowing the dates of occurrences, they should have connected certain outrages, which assuredly took place in St. Domingo, with the emancipation of the slaves. The great massacres and conflagrations, which have made so frightful a picture in the history of this unhappy island, had been all effected before the proclamations of Santhonax and Polverel. They had all taken place in the days of slavery, or before the year 1794, that is, before the great conventional decree of the mother country was known. They had been occasioned, too, not originally by the slaves themselves, but by quarrels between the white and colored planters, and between the royalists and the revolutionists, who, for the purpose of reeking their vengeance upon each other, called in the aid of their respective slaves; and as to the insurgent Negroes of the North, who filled that part of the colony so often with terror and dismay, they were originally put in motion, according to Malenfant, under the auspices of the royalists themselves, to strengthen their own cause, and to put down the partisans of the French Revolution. When Jean Francois and Biassou commenced the insurrection, there were many white royalists with them, and the negroes were made to wear the white cockade. I repeat, then, that during the years 1795 and 1796, I can find nothing in the history of St. Domingo, where-with to reproach, the emancipated Negroes in the way of outrage*. There is every reason, on the other hand, to believe, that they conducted themselves, during this period, in as orderly a manner as before.

I come now to the latter part of the year 1796; and here happily a clue is furnished me, by which I have an opportunity of pursuing my inquiry with pleasure. We shall find, that from this time there was no want of industry in those who had been emancipated, nor want of obedience in them as hired servants: they maintained, on the other hand, a respectable character. Let us appeal first to Malenfant. "The colony,"

*Mémoire historique et politique des Colonies, et particulièrement de celle St. Domingue, &c. Paris, 1814, 8vo. p. 58.

† P. 125, 126.

*There were occasionally marauding parties from the mountains, who pillaged the plains; but these were the old insurgents, and not the emancipated Negroes.

says he*, "was flourishing under Toussaint.—The whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the Negroes continued to work for them." Now Toussaint came into power, being general-in-chief of the armies of St. Domingo a little before the end of the year 1796, and remained in power till the year 1802, or till the invasion of the island by the French expedition of Bonaparte under Leclerc. Malefant means therefore to state, that from the latter end of 1796 to 1802, a period of 6 years, the planters or farmers kept possession of their estates; that they lived upon them, and that they lived upon them peaceably, that is, without interruption or disturbance from any one; and, finally, that the Negroes though they had been set free, continued to be their laborers. Can there be any account more favorable to our views than this, after so sudden an emancipation.

I may appeal next to General Lacroix, who published "his memoirs as a history of St. Domingo," at Paris, in 1819. He informs us, that when Santhonax, who had been recalled to France by the Government there, returned to the colony in 1796, "he was astonished at the state in which he found it on his return." This, says Lacroix, "was owing to Toussaint, who, while he had succeeded in establishing perfect order and discipline among the black troops, had succeeded also in making the black laborers return to the plantations, there to resume the drudgery of cultivation."

But the same author tells us, that in the next year (1797) the most wonderful progress had been made in agriculture. He uses these remarkable words: "The colony," says he, "marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendour; cultivation prospered; every day produced susceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations of the North rose up again visibly to the eye."—Now I am far from wishing to attribute all this wonderful improvement, this daily visible progress in agriculture, to the mere act of the emancipation of the slaves in St. Domingo. I know that many other circumstances which I could specify, if I had room, contributed towards its growth; but I must be allowed to maintain, that unless the Negroes, who were made free, had done their part as laborers, both by working regularly and industriously, and by obeying the directions of their superintendents or masters, the colony could never have gone on, as related to cultivation, with the rapidity described.

The next witness to whom I shall appeal, is the estimable General Vincent, who now lives at Paris, though at an advanced age. Vincent was a colonel, and afterwards a general of brigade of artillery in St. Domingo. He was stationed there both during the time of Santhonax and Toussaint. He was also a proprietor of estates on the island. He was the man

who planned the renovation of its agriculture after the abolition of slavery, and one of the great instruments in bringing it to the perfection mentioned by Lacroix. In the year 1801, he was called upon by Toussaint to repair to Paris, to lay before the Directory the new constitution which had been agreed upon in St. Domingo. He obeyed the summons. It happened that he arrived in France just at the moment of the peace of Amiens; here he found, to his inexpressible surprise and grief, that Bonaparte was preparing an immense armament, to be commanded by Leclerc, for the purpose of restoring slavery in St. Domingo. He lost no time in seeing the First Consul, and he had the courage to say at this interview, what, perhaps, no other man in France would have dared to say at this particular moment. He remonstrated against the expedition; he told him to his face, that though the army destined for this purpose was composed of the brilliant conquerors of Europe, it could do nothing in the Antilles. It would most assuredly be destroyed by the climate of St. Domingo, even though it should be doubtful whether it would not be destroyed by the Blacks. He stated as another argument against the expedition, that it was totally unnecessary, therefore criminal; for that every thing was going on well in St. Domingo. The proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; cultivation was making a rapid progress; the Blacks were industrious and happy beyond example. He conjured him, therefore, in the name of humanity, not to reverse so beautiful a state of things. But, alas! his efforts were ineffectual. The die had been cast: and the only reward which he received from Bonaparte for his manly and faithful representations was, banishment to the Isle of Elba.

Having carried my examination into the conduct of the negroes after their liberation in 1802, or to the invasion of the island by Leclerc, I must now leave a blank of nearly two years, or to the year 1804. It cannot be expected during a war, in which every man was called to arms to defend his own personal liberty and that of every individual of his family, that we should see plantations cultivated as quietly as before, or even cultivated at all. But this was not the fault of the emancipated Negroes, but of their former masters. It was owing to the prejudices of the latter, that this frightful invasion took place; prejudices, indeed, common to all planters, where slavery obtains, from the very nature of their situation, and upon which I have made my observations in a former place. Accustomed to the use of arbitrary power, they could no longer brook the loss of their whips. Accustomed again to look down upon the Negroes as an inferior race of beings, or as the reptiles of the earth, they could not bear, peaceably as these had conducted themselves, to come into that familiar contact with them as free laborers, which the change of their situation required. They considered them, too, as proper-

*P. 78.
† *Memoires*, p. 311.
‡ *Ibid.* p. 324.

ty lost, but which was to be recovered. In an evil hour, they prevailed upon Bonaparte, by false representations and promises of pecuniary support, to restore things to their former state. The hellish expedition at length arrived on the shores of St. Domingo:—a scene of blood and torture followed, such as history had never before disclosed, and compared with which, tho' planned and executed by Whites*, all the barbarities said to have been perpetrated by the insurgent Blacks of the North, amount comparatively to nothing. In fine, the French were driven from the island. Till that time, the planters retained their property, and then it was, but not till then, that they lost their all; it cannot, therefore, be expected, as I have said before, that I should have any thing to say in favor of the industry or good order of the emancipated Negroes, during such a convulsive period.

In the year 1804, Dessalines was proclaimed emperor of this fine territory. Here I resume the thread of my history, (though it will be but for a moment,) in order that I may follow it to its end. In process of time, the black troops, containing the negroes in question, were disbanded, except such as were retained for the peace-establishment of the army. They, who were disbanded, returned to cultivation. As they were free when they became soldiers, so they continued to be free when they became laborers again. From that time to this, there has been no want of subordination or industry among them. They or their descendants are the persons by whom the plains and valleys of St. Domingo are still cultivated, and they are reported to follow their occupations still, and with as fair a character as other free laborers in any other quarter of the globe.

We have now seen, that the emancipated negroes never abused their liberty, from the year 1793 (the era of their general emancipation) to the present day, a period of thirty years. An important question then seems to force itself upon us: "What were the measures taken after so frightful an event as that of emancipation, to secure the tranquility and order which has been described, or to secure the planters and the colony from ruin?" I am bound to answer this, if I can, were it only to gratify the curiosity of my readers, but more particularly when I consider, that if emancipation should ever be in contemplation in our own colonies, it will be desirable to have all the light possible upon that subject, and particularly of precedent or example. It appears then, that the two commissioners, Santhonax and Polverel, aware of the mischief which might attend their decrees, were obliged to take the best measures they could devise to prevent it. One of their first steps was to draw

up a short code of rules to be observed upon the plantations. These rules were printed and made public. They were also ordered to be read aloud to all the negroes upon every estate, for which purpose the latter were to be assembled at a particular hour once a week. The preamble to these regulations insisted upon the necessity of working, without which every thing would go to ruin. Among the articles, the two the most worthy of our notice were, that the laborers were to be obliged to hire themselves to their masters for not less than a year, at the end of which (September) but not before, they might quit their service, and engage with others; and that they were to receive a third part of the produce of the estate, as a recompense for their labor. These two were fundamental articles. As to the minor, they were not alike upon every estate. This code of the commissioners subsisted for about three years.

Toussaint, when he came into power, reconsidered this subject, and adopted a code of rules of his own. His first object was to prevent oppression on the part of the master or employer, and yet to secure obedience on the part of the laborer. Conceiving that there could be no liberty where any one man had the power of punishing another at his discretion, he took away from every master the use of the whip, and of the chain, and of every other instrument of correction, either by himself or his own order: he took away, in fact, all power of arbitrary punishment. Every master offending against this regulation was to be summoned, on complaint by the laborer, before a magistrate or intendant of police, who was to examine into the case, and to act accordingly. Conceiving, on the other hand, that a just subordination ought to be kept up, and that, wherever delinquency occurred, punishment ought to follow, he ordained, that all laborers offending against the plantation laws, or not performing their contracts, should be brought before the same magistrate or intendant of police, who should examine them touching such delinquency, and decide as in the former case: thus he administered justice without respect of persons. It must be noticed, that all punishments were to be executed by a civil officer, a sort of public executioner, that they might be considered as punishments by the State.—Thus he kept up discipline on the plantations, without lessening authority on the one hand, and without invading the liberty of individuals on the other.

Among his plantation offences was idleness on the part of the laborer. A man was not to receive wages from his master, and do nothing.—He was obliged to perform a reasonable quantity of work, or be punished. Another offence was absence without leave, which was considered as desertion.

Toussaint differed from the commissioners, as to the length of time for which laborers should engage themselves to masters. He thought it unwise to allow the former, in the infancy of

* The French were not the authors of tearing to pieces the Negroes alive by bloodhounds, or of suffocating them by hundreds at a time in the holds of ships, or of drowning them (whole cargoes) by scuttling and sinking the vessels;—but the planters.

their liberty, to get notions of change and rambling at the end of every year. He ordained, therefore, that they should be attached to the plantation, and made, though free laborers, a sort of *adscripti glebe* for five years.

He differed again from the commissioners, as to the quantum of compensation for their labor. He thought one-third of the produce too much, seeing that the planter had another third to pay to the government. He ordered, therefore, one-fourth to the laborer, but this was in the case only, where the laborer clothed and maintained himself: where he did not do this, he was entitled to a fourth only nominally, for out of this his master was to make a deduction for board and clothing.

The above is all I have been able to collect of the code of Toussaint, which, under his auspices, had the surprising effect of preserving tranquility and order, and of keeping up a spirit of industry on the plantations of St. Domingo, at a time when only idleness and anarchy were to have been expected. It was in force when Leclerc arrived with his invading army, and it continued in force, when the French army were beaten and negro-liberty confirmed. From Toussaint it passed to Dessalines, and from Dessalines to Christophe and Pétion, and from the two latter to Boyer; and it is the code therefore which regulates, and I believe with but very little variation, the relative situation of master and servant in husbandry at this present hour.

But it is time that I should now wind up the case before us. And, first, will any one say that this case is not analogous to that which we have in contemplation? Let us remember that the number of slaves liberated by the French decrees in St. Domingo was very little short of 500,000 persons, and that this was nearly equal to the number of all the slaves then in the British West Indian Islands when put together.—But if there be a want of analogy, the difference lies on my side of the question. I maintain that emancipation in St. Domingo was attended with far more hazard to persons and property, and with far greater difficulties, than it could possibly be, if attempted in our own islands. Can we forget that by the decree of Polverel, sanctioned afterwards by the Convention, all the slaves were made free at once, or in a single day? No notice was given of the event, and of course no preparation could be made for it.—They were released suddenly from all their former obligations and restraints. They were let loose upon the whites, their masters, with all the vices of slavery upon them. What was to have been expected but the dissolution of all civilized society, with the reign of barbarism and terror? Now all I ask for with respect to the slaves in our own islands is, that they should be emancipated by degrees, or that they should be made to pass through a certain course of discipline, as through a preparatory school, to fit them for the right use of their freedom. Again, can we forget the unfavorable circumstances, in

which the slaves of St. Domingo were placed, for a year or two before their liberation, in another point of view? The island at this juncture was a prey to political discord, civil war, and foreign invasion, at the same time. Their masters were politically at variance with each other, as they were white or colored persons, or republicans or royalists. They were quarrelling and fighting with each other, and shedding each other's blood. The English, who were in possession of the strong maritime posts, were alarming the country by their incursions: they, the slaves, had been trained up to the same political animosities. They had been made to take the side of their respective masters, and to pass through scenes of violence and bloodshed. Now, whenever emancipation is to be proposed in our own colonies, I anticipate neither political parties, nor civil wars, nor foreign invasion, but a time of tranquility and peace. Who then will be bold enough to say, after these remarks, that there could be any thing like the dangers and difficulties in emancipating the slaves there, which existed when the slaves of St. Domingo were made free? But some objector may say, after all, "There is one point in which your analogy is deficient. While Toussaint was in power, the government of St. Domingo was a black one, and the blacks would be more willing to submit to the authority of a black (their own) government, than of a white one. Hence there were less disorders after emancipation in St. Domingo, than would have probably occurred, had it been tried in our own islands." But to such an objector I should reply, that he knows nothing of the history of St. Domingo. The government of that island was French, or white, from the very infancy of emancipation to the arrival of the expedition of Leclerc. The slaves were made free under the government of Santhonax and Polverel. When these retired, other white commissioners succeeded them. When Toussaint came into power, he was not supreme; Generals Hedouille, Vincent, and others, had a share in the government. Toussaint himself received his commission from the French Directory, and acted under it. He caused it every where to be made known, but particularly among his officers and troops, that he retained the island for the French government, and that France was the mother country.

A sixth class of slaves emancipated in bodies may comprehend those, who began to be liberated about eighteen months ago in the newly erected State of Colombia. General Bolívar began the great work himself by enfranchising his own slaves, to the number of between seven and eight hundred. But he was not satisfied with this; for believing, as he did, that to hold persons in slavery at all, was not only morally wrong, but utterly inconsistent with the character of men fighting for their own liberty, he brought the subject before the Congress of Venezuela. The Congress there, after having duly considered it, drew up resolutions accordingly,

which is recommended to the first general Congress of Colombia when it should be assembled. The last Congress, which met at the time expected, passed a decree for emancipation on the 19th of July, 1821. All slaves, who had assisted, in a military capacity, in achieving the independence of the republic, were at once declared free. All the children of slaves, born after the said 19th of July, were to be free in succession as they attained the eighteenth year of their age. A fund was established at the same time by a general tax upon property, to pay the owners of such young slaves the expense of bringing them up to their eighteenth year, and for putting them afterwards to trades and useful professions; and the same fund was made applicable to the purchase of the freedom of adults in each district every year, during the three national festivals in December, as far as the district funds would permit. Care, however, was to be taken to select those of the best character. It may be proper to observe, that emancipation, as above explained, has been proceeding regularly, from the 19th of July, 1821, according to the terms of the decree, and also according to the ancient Spanish code, which still exists, and which is made to go hand in hand with it. They who attain their eighteenth year, are not allowed to go at large after their liberation, but are put under the charge of special juntas for a useful education. The adults may have land, if they desire it, or they may go where they please. The State has lately purchased freedom for many of the latter, who had a liking to the army. Their freedom is secured to them whether they remain soldiers or are discharged. It is particularly agreeable to me to be able to say that all, who have been hitherto emancipated, have conducted themselves since that time with propriety. It appears by a letter from Colombia, dated 17th February, 1822, about seven months after emancipation had commenced, addressed to James St. John, Esq. of London, and since made public, "that the slaves were all then peacefully at work throughout the republic, as well as the newly enfranchised and those originally free." And it appears from the account of a gentleman of high consideration just arrived from Colombia, in London, that up to the time of his departure, they who had been emancipated "were steady and industrious, and that they had conducted themselves well without a single exception." But as this is an experiment which it will yet take sixteen years to complete, it can only be called to our aid, as far as the result of it is known. It is, however, an experiment to which, as far as it has been made, we may appeal with satisfaction: for when we consider that eighteen months have elapsed, and that many* thousands have been freed since the passing of the decree and the date of the last ac-

counts from Colombia, the decree cannot but be considered to have had a sufficient trial.

The seventh class may comprehend the slaves of the Honorable Joshua Steele, whose emancipation was attempted in Barbadoes between the years 1783 and 1790.

It appears that Mr. Steele lived several years in London. He was Vice-president of the London Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and a person of talent and erudition.—He was the proprietor of three estates in Barbadoes. His agent there used to send him accounts annually of his concerns; but these were latterly so ruinous, not only in a pecuniary point of view, but as they related to what Mr. Steele called the destruction of his negroes, that he resolved, though then at the advanced age of eighty, to go there, and to look into his affairs himself. Accordingly he embarked, and arrived there early in the year 1780.

Mr. Steele had not been long in Barbadoes, before he saw enough to convince him that there was something radically wrong in the management of the slaves there, and he was anxious to try, as well for the sake of humanity as of his own interest, to effect a change in it. But how was he to accomplish this? "He considered within himself how difficult it would be, nay, impossible, for a single proprietor to attempt so great a novelty as to bring about an alteration of manners and customs protected by iniquitous laws, and to which the gentlemen of the country were reconciled as the best possible means for amending the indocile and intractable ignorance of negro slaves." It struck him, however, among the expedients which occurred, that he might be able to form a Society, similar to the one in London, for the purpose of improving the arts, manufactures, and commerce of Barbadoes; and if so, he "indulged a hope that by means of it, conferences might be introduced on patriotic subjects, in the course of which, new ideas and new opinions might soften the national bigotry, so far as to admit some discourses on the possibility of amendment in the mode of governing slaves." Following up this idea, he brought it at length to bear. A Society was formed, in consequence, of gentlemen of the island in 1781. The subjects under its discussion became popular. It printed its first minutes in 1782, which were very favorably received, and it bid fair after this to answer the benevolent views of its founder.

† See Dr. Dickson's Mitigation of Slavery, London 1814, from whence every thing relating to this subject is taken.—Dr. Dickson had been for many years secretary to Governor Hay, in Barbadoes, where he had an opportunity of studying the slave agriculture as a system. Being in London afterwards when the Slave Trade controversy was going on in Parliament, he distinguished himself by silencing the different writers who defended the West Indian slavery. There it was that Mr. Steele addressed himself to him by letter, and sent him those invaluable papers, which the Doctor afterwards published under the modest title of "Mitigation of Slavery, by Steele and Dickson." No one was better qualified than Dr. Dickson to become the editor of Mr. Steele.

* All the slave population was to be emancipated in 18 years; and this consisted at the time of passing the decree of from 250,000 to 300,000 souls.

During [this time, a space of two years, Mr. Steele had been gaining a practical knowledge of the West Indian husbandry, and also a practical knowledge of the temper, disposition, habits, and customs of the slaves. He had also read much, and thought much. It may be inferred from his writings, that three questions especially had employed his mind. 1. Whether he could not do away all arbitrary punishments and yet keep up discipline among the slaves? 2. Whether he could not carry on the plantation work through the stimulus of reward? 3. Whether he could not change slavery into a condition of a milder name and character, so that the slaves should be led by degrees to the threshold of liberty, from whence they might step next, without hazard, into the rank of freemen, if circumstances should permit and encourage such a procedure? Mr. Steele thought, after mature consideration, that he could accomplish all these objects, and he resolved to make the experiments gradually upon his own estates.

At the end of the year 1783, he put the first of these questions to trial. "I took," says he, "the whips and all power of arbitrary punishment from all the overseers and their white servants, which occasioned my chief overseer to resign, and I soon dismissed all his deputies, who could not bear the loss of their whips; but at the same time, that a proper subordination and obedience to lawful orders and duties should be preserved, I created a magistracy out of the negroes themselves, and appointed a court or jury of the elder negroes or head men for trial and punishment of all casual offences, (and these courts were always to be held in my presence, or in that of my new superintendent) which court very soon grew respectable. Seven of these men being of the rank of drivers in their different departments, were also constituted rulers, as magistrates over all the gang, and were charged to see at all times that nothing should go wrong in the plantations; but that on all necessary occasions they should assemble and consult together how any such wrong should be immediately rectified; and I made it known to all the gang, that the authority of these rulers should supply the absence or vacancy of an overseer in all cases; they making daily or occasional reports of all occurrences to the proprietor or his delegate for his approbation or his orders."

It appears that Mr. Steele was satisfied with this his first step, and he took no other for some time. At length, in about another year, he ventured upon the second. He "tried whether he could not obtain the labor of his negroes by voluntary means instead of the old method by violence." On a certain day he offered a pecuniary reward for holing canes, which is the most laborious operation in West Indian husbandry. "He offered two-pence halfpenny (currency), or about three-halfpence (sterling); per day, with the usual allowance to holers of a dram with molasses, to any twenty-five of his negroes, both men and women, who could undertake to hole for canes an

acre per day, at about 96½ holes for each negro to take it. The whole gang were ready to undertake it; but only fifty of the volunteers were accepted, and many among them were those who on much lighter occasions had usually pleaded infirmity and inability: but the ground having been moist, they holed twelve acres within six days with great ease, having had an hour, more or less, every evening to spare, and the like experiment was repeated with the like success.—More experiments with such premiums on weeding and deep hoeing were made by task-work per acre, and all succeeded in like manner, their premiums being all punctually paid them in proportion to their performance. But afterwards some of the same people being put without premium to weed on a loose cultivated soil in the common manner, eighteen negroes did not do as much in a given time as six had performed of the like sort of work a few days before with the premium of two-pence half-penny." The next year Mr. Steele made similar experiments. Success attended him again; and from this time task-work or the voluntary system, became the general practice of the estate.

Mr. Steele did not proceed to put the third question to trial till the year 1789. The Society of Arts, which he had instituted in 1781, had greatly disappointed him. Some of the members, looking back to the discussions which had taken place on the subject of slavery, began to think that they had gone too far as slave-holders in their admissions. They began to insinuate, "that they had been taken in, under the specious appearance of promoting the arts, manufactures, and commerce of Barbadoes, to promote dangerous designs against its established laws and customs." Discussions therefore of this sort became too unpopular to be continued. It was therefore not till Mr. Steele found, that he had no hope of assistance from this Society, and that he was obliged to depend solely upon himself, that he put in force the remainder of his general plan. He had already (1783,) as we stated some time ago, abolished arbitrary punishment and instituted a Negro-magistracy; and since that time (in 1785) he had adopted the system of working by the piece. But the remaining part of his plan went the length of altering the condition of the slaves themselves; and it is of this alteration, a most important one (in 1789,) that I am now to speak.

Mr. Steele took the hint for the particular mode of improving the condition of his slaves, which I am going to describe, from the practice of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in the days of Villainage, which, he says, was "the most wise and excellent mode of civilizing savage slaves."—There were in those day three classes of villains. The first or lowest consisted of villains in gross, who were alienable at pleasure. The second of villains regardant, who were *adscripti glebe*, or attached as freehold property to the soil. And the third or last of copyhold bondmen, who had tenements of land, for which they were bound to pay in services. The villains first mentioned, or

those of the lowest class, had all these gradations to pass through, from the first into the second, and from the second into the third, before they could become free men. This was the model, from which Mr. Steele resolved to borrow, when he formed his plan for changing the condition of his slaves. He did not, however, adopt it throughout, but he chose out of it what he thought would be most suitable to his purpose, and left the rest. We may now see what the plan was, when put together, from the following account.

In the year 1789, he erected his plantation into *manors*. It appears that the Governor of Barbadoes had the power by charter, with the consent of the majority of the council, of dividing the island into manors, lordships, and precincts, and of making free-holders; and though this had not yet been done, Mr. Steele hoped, as a member of council, to have influence sufficient to get his own practice legalized in time. Presuming upon this, he registered in the *manor-book* all his adult slaves as *copyholders*. He then gave to these separate tenements of land, which they were to occupy, and upon which they were to raise whatever they might think most advantageous to their support. These tenements consisted of half an acre of plantable and productive land to each adult, a quantity supposed to be sufficient with industry to furnish him and his family with provision and clothing. The tenements were made descendible to the heirs of the occupiers or copyholders, that is, to their children on the plantations; for no part of the succession was to go out of the plantations to the issue of any foreign wife, and, in case of no such heirs, they were to fall in to the lord to be regranted according to his discretion. It was also inscribed that any one of the copyholders, who would not perform his services to the manor (the refractory and others,) was to forfeit his tenement and his privileged rank, and to go back to villain in gross and be subject to corporal punishment as before. "Thus," says Mr. Steele, "we run no risk whatever in making the experiment by giving such copyhold-tenements to all our well-deserving Negroes, and to all in general, when they appear to be worthy of that favor."

Matters having been adjusted so far, Mr. Steele introduced the practice of *rent and wages*. He put an annual rent upon each tenement, which he valued at so many days' labor. He set a rent also upon personal service, as due by the copyholder to his master in his former quality of slave, seeing that his master or predecessor had purchased a property in him, and this he valued in the same manner. He then added the two rents together, making so many days' work altogether, and estimated them in the current money of the time. Having done this, he fixed a daily wages or pay to be received by the copyholders for the work which they were to do. They were to work 260 days in the year for him, and to have 48, besides Sundays, for themselves.

He reduced these days' work also to current money. These wages he fixed at such a rate, that "they should be more than equivalent to the rent of their copyholds and the rent of their personal services when put together, in order to hold out to them an evident and profitable incentive to their industry." It appears that the rent of the tenement, half an acre, was fixed at the rate of 3*l.* currency, or between forty and fifty shillings sterling per acre, and the wages for a man belonged to the first gang at 7*d.* currency or 6*d.* sterling per day. As to the rent for the personal services, it is not mentioned.

With respect to labor and things connected with it, Mr. Steele entered the following among the local laws in the *court-roll* of the tenants and tenements. The copyholders were not to work for other masters without the leave of the lord.—They were to work ten hours per day. If they worked over and above that time, they were to be paid for every hour a tenth part of their daily wages, and they were also to forfeit a tenth for every hour they were absent or deficient in the work of the day. All sorts of work, however, were to be reduced, as far as it could be done by observation and estimation, to equitable task work.—Hoes were to be furnished to the copyholders in the first instance; but they were to renew them, when worn out, at their own expense. The other tools were to be lent them, but to be returned to the store-keeper at night, or to be paid for in default of so doing. Mr. Steele was to continue the hospital and medical attendance at his own expense as before.

Mr. Steele, having now rent to receive and wages to pay, was obliged to settle a new mode of accounting between the plantation and the laborers. He brought, therefore, all the minor crops of the plantation, such as corn, grain of all sorts, yams, eddoes, besides rum and molasses, into a regular cash account by weight and measure, which he charged to the copyhold-storekeeper at market prices of the current time, and the storekeeper paid them at the same prices to such of the copyholders as called for them in part of wages, in whose option it was to take either cash or goods, according to their earnings, to answer all their wants. Rice, salt, salt fish, barrelled pork, Cork butter, flour, bread, biscuit, candles, tobacco and pipes, and all species of clothing, were provided and furnished from the store at the lowest market prices. An account of what was paid for daily subsistence, and of what stood in their arrears to answer the rents of their lands, the fines and forfeitures for delinquencies, their head-levy and all other casual demands, was accurately kept in columns with great simplicity, and in books, which checked each other.

Such was the plan of Mr. Steele, and I have the pleasure of being able to announce, that the result of it was highly satisfactory to himself.—In the year 1788, when only the first and second part of it had been reduced to practice, he spoke of it thus:—"A plantation," says he, "of between seven and eight hundred acres has been governed

"by fixed laws and a Negro-court for about five years with great success. In this plantation no overseer or white servant is allowed to lift his hand against a Negro, nor can he arbitrarily order a punishment. Fixed laws and a court or jury of their peers keep all in order without the ill effect of sudden and intemperate passions."—And in the year 1790, about a year after the last part of his plan had been put to trial, he says in a letter to Dr. Dickson, "My copyholders have succeeded beyond my expectation." This was his last letter to that gentleman, for he died in the beginning of the next year. Mr. Steele went over to Barbadoes, as I have said before, in the year 1780, and he was then in the eightieth year of his age. He began his humane and glorious work in 1783, and he finished it in 1789. It took him, therefore, six years to bring his Negroes to the state of vassalage described, or to that state from whence he was sure that they might be transferred without danger in no distant time, to the rank of freemen, if it should be thought desirable. He lived one year afterwards to witness the success of his labors. He had accomplished, therefore, all he wished, and he died in the year 1791, in the ninety-first year of his age.

For the Genius of "Temperance."
THE CLIMAX!!

The public have already been apprized of the imprisonment of Miss P. Crandall, (in the cell lately occupied by *Watkins*, the murderer!) on the crime of teaching colored females! This act was thought almost incredible. But the following is, if possible, still more outrageous. To forbid a parent—a mother, to visit a child!—a sister to call on a sister!—Who ever heard of such a thing, in this country, before? The legal pretext, it is presumed, for the measure, is, that visiting Miss Crandall is "aiding and abetting" her school. It will soon be penal to write or speak in her favor, at this rate!

☞ Read the following: It is from a source that may be relied on.

Canterbury, Conn. June 21st, 1833.

On Saturday, the 8th of this month, A. T. Judson, esq. and Judge Adams called on Pardon Crandall, and said to him as follows: "If you go to your daughter's you are to be fined \$100 for the first offence, \$200 for the second, and double it every time"—then, turning to his wife, said "Mrs. Crandall, if you go there you will be fined—and Almira (their youngest daughter) will be fined—and Mr. May and those gentlemen from Providence (meaning Messrs. Geo. and Henry Benson) if they come there will be fined after the same rate. And your daughter (the one that established the school for colored females) will be taken up the same way as for stealing a horse, or for burglary. Her property will not be taken—but she will be put in jail, in close confinement, not having the liberty of the yard. There is no mercy to be shown about it. Mr. Crandall, when you sent your printed paper to the General Assembly, you did not injure me; it helped very much in getting the bill through,—

* A Memorial of Mr. Crandall on behalf of his daughter.

When they received it, every man clenched his fist—and the committee sat down and doubled the penalty." In speaking of the General Assembly, Mr. Judson remarked that they said to him: "If this law does not answer your purpose, let us know, next year, and we will make you one that will."

OUTRAGE ON OUTRAGE!—A letter just received from Canterbury, informs us that Miss P. Crandall is now sick, probably in consequence of her late imprisonment. Her sister has charge of the scholars. Not many nights since, at about the hour of 10, a stone was thrown into the front parlor of Miss C's dwelling—dashing the glass over the room! Before morning a large, heavy missile was thrown against some other portion of the building. Added eggs have been profusely used by the enemies of the school, as a polite way of pouring forth their torrents of indignation; and fresh outrages are constantly occurring.

Where will these things end?—*Emancipator.*

PRICE CURRENT OF HUMAN BEINGS.—A colored man named William Syphax, formerly the property of Geo. Washington Park Custis, nephew of Gen. Washington, is now in this city, soliciting aid to purchase his two daughters, now held in bondage in the District of Columbia. He has already purchased his own freedom at \$333 33—his wife at \$250: one daughter at \$320—another at \$275—another at—\$312—another at \$110—another at \$150. He wishes to raise about \$600 more, which will liberate his whole family.

COLONIAL SLAVERY.

(From the London Morning Chronicle of May 31.)

The expected debate on the subject of Colonial Slavery was opened last night by Sir R. Vyvyan, who spoke at great length on the motion that the house go into a committee. He defended at great length the conduct of the Colonial Legislatures; and disputed the power of Parliament to legislate for the chartered colonies, and concluded without moving any resolution, or opposing the motion, but expressed a hope that Ministers would reconsider their plan.

On the house going into a committee, Mr. Stanley justified the course pursued by ministers with regard to this question. "He considered that opinion upon the subject was general, and that it ought not to be resisted by government, when it was so unequivocally expressed upon such a question as the present." Mr. Stanley then defended at considerable length, the statements he had made with respect to the conduct of the colonial legislatures, and the utter hopelessness of expecting any material improvement of the condition of the slaves from that quarter.

But the part of Mr. Stanley's speech which will be most looked to, is that which contains an announcement of some very important modifications of the Ministerial plan. "There was no point (he said) which both parties (the West India body and the Abolitionists) agreed in condemning. The West India body complained that they should have no interest on the money to be advanced to them; while those persons who advocated the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves, thought it hard that the negro should have to pay for his ultimate freedom. Besides the three ways in which he had stated the money advanced could be repaid, there was (he said) another resource; which was, to throw the fifteen millions to be advanced on the resources of the country. The

British public has called for the abolition of slavery, and the British public cannot object to bearing the burden caused by the measures taken for bringing about that abolition.

With respect to the throwing the burdens on the slave, independent of the injustice of making the injury we have inflicted on him the ground for inflicting another, we should be merely deceiving ourselves: we advanced money, on any hopes of return from such a quarter.

But Mr. Stanley announced another modification.—“They were (he said) willing that the negro should lay aside part of the money which he might earn during his spare time. But they proposed that if the negro should, by the produce of his labor, save any money, he should then have it in his power to shorten the period during which he was to continue in the service of his master, when he was able to compensate his master for the remainder of his time which was to run, and to prove himself of industrious and moral habits.” We presume that the value of the labor of the twelve years, after deducting the charges of maintenance, will be fixed at the outset, on the principle of the Spanish law, so that the negro may know distinctly the rate at which he can reduce any portion of his apprenticeship. It is said that the knowledge of the Spanish slave that he can purchase his liberty for a sum that has been definitely fixed, or obtain a transference to another master who may advance this fixed sum, has an immense effect in keeping the slave happy and contented.

Mr. Irving, at the City of London Tavern Meeting, alluded to a plan which he had proposed to Mr. Stanley as a substitute for the ministerial one. Mr. Stanley, we presume, spoke of this plan, when he alluded to a proposition made to him by our West Indian Deputation, that a grant of forty four millions should be made from the government, and that, in consideration of this grant, the colonial proprietors should enjoy all their existing rights over the slaves for the period of forty-one years. The bare mention of this proposition excited the laughter of the house. But this is not all. On the expiration of the forty-one years, the forty-four millions were to be paid out of the wages of the slaves, and with an interest of four per cent.

The modifications of Mr. Stanley seem to have, in a great measure, overcome the opposition of the abolitionists. Mr. Buxton observed, “that though he was opposed to parts of the plan of the Right Honorable Gentleman, yet he thought some of the propositions made that night were great amendments, and would prove very satisfactory to the friends of emancipation. If the opposition were successful, it was probable they would lose the benefit of this measure altogether; and so sure as that was the case, so sure would life and property be insecure in the colonies.” He added “that he saw no alternative in the rejection of these measures but the precipitation of emancipation by bloodshed and violence.”

The Ministerial measure may now, therefore, be considered as good as carried. The modification will obviate one objection urged by Mr. Burnley, in his letter in “The Chronicle” yesterday, that in the disputes with others, the law could only reach the slave through corporal punishment, he having no property. If the fourth part of his labor is his own, that part can be the subject of adjudication, and the negro will be anxious not to lose the benefit from it.

THE SLAVE SHIP.—All the exertions of the English to suppress the infamous traffic in slaves are a mere farce—a perfect mockery of emancipation. We liberate a few of those embarked in Spanish vessels, while tens of thousands are embarked, and the vessels allowed insolently to pass us uncollected, under the infamous shelter of the French flag to the northward of the equator, and the Portuguese flag to the southward. Upwards of sixty thousand slaves, it is calculated, are annually exported from Africa. In 1826, we emancipated only two thousand five hundred and sixty-seven; in 1827, two thousand eight hundred and sixty-one; in 1828, three thousand nine hundred and twenty-four; and in 1829, five thousand three hundred and fifty were

liberated, being a year of uncommon success, which arose from the great number of Brazilian vessels running prior to the operation of the convention of 1826, which made the trade under the Brazilian flag piracy. Since then, no vessel has appeared under that flag on the coast. In 1830 the number consequently again fell off; and in the present year little or nothing can be done. Almost every vessel laden with slaves, is under the French flag; and the people on board, confident of being privileged, literally laugh at us as they pass, and often favor the escape of vessels under another flag liable to capture, by leading us a dance after them. It is therefore evident, that all attempts at suppressing the slave trade under the present system is a mere farce—that all our expenditure for that purpose is fruitless—nay, in many instances injuriously employed.—*Leonard.*

REMARK.—The only way to suppress the slave trade is to terminate slavery. While the main evil, the primary enormity continues, the incidental appendages must continue also. Slaves will be supplied, so long as there is a market for them and for their products.—A slave holding nation pronouncing the slave trade piracy, is like a criminal pronouncing sentence of death on his accessories.

From the London Times, of May 31.

West India Emancipation.—On considering that Lord Howick, when in office, had matured a plan for negro emancipation, (the rejection of which was the cause of his resignation,) it need excite no surprise that his Lordship should be eager to state his objections to the rival project of Mr. Stanley, and to confront it with his own. The first object he accomplished in his speech when Mr. Stanley's resolutions were submitted to Parliament; and the second he has attained by the publication of his plan as an appendix to the corrected copy of his Parliamentary address.

Both the speech, and plan with which it is followed, deserve more consideration than they have yet received at the hands of the public; though we do not see such a discrepancy between the proposed details of Mr. Stanley's bill and those of the noble Lord as would warrant the unqualified condemnation of either by the friends of the other.

The plan of Lord Howick—which was, we observe, submitted to the West India Body,—and which, therefore, at one time, must have had the sanction of the Cabinet—includes, like that now before Parliament, two main objects: first, the entire abolition of negro slavery; and, secondly, an advance of money, by way of loan, for the benefit of the planters, to enable them to carry the project into effect with more facility, or to reconcile them to the contemplated change with more readiness. The points on which they chiefly differ, so far as the details of Mr. Stanley's plan have been developed, are two.

Lord Howick proposes to pass two acts of Parliament, short in their clauses and simple in their provisions, leaving the details of their execution to the colonial Legislatures or to colonial Councils, while, at the same time, models of bills, or “ordinances” embodying these details, shall be transmitted by the Government to the colonies for their guidance or for their adoption. Of the two acts to be passed by the Legislature of the mother country, the first is entitled “An Act for the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions;” and the second, “An act for the relief of the owners of slaves to be manumitted in the British colonies by virtue of the preceding act.”

The former declares that after the 1st of January, in a year which is not specified, slavery shall be abolished and denounced as unlawful throughout every part of His Majesty's dominions. The decree is to be entirely independent for its ultimate success of the will or consent of any colonial legislature; but if, after seeing the extreme term prescribed by the Parliament of Great Britain for the continuance of slavery, the local Legislatures shall adopt the initiative of abolishing it, then the British general act would, of course, be superseded. The only advantage of this latter provision would seem to be to preserve the semblance of power or authority to the colonies, if they chose to anticipate the decrees of the mother country; but to give them no option or freedom of choice, to resist or postpone their execution. The act for the relief of the owners of manumitted slaves, is likewise to be independent of the local legislatures. The amount of the proposed loan is not stated, but its interest was to be, as in Mr. Stanley's plan, at 4 per cent. and its application is more specific and definite than that of the 15,000,000*l.* proposed to be advanced by the resolutions submitted to Parliament.

To these two general acts are appended six detailed "ordinances" so called, because they are proposed to be enforced in one of the Crown colonies (Guiana) and only to be transmitted as bills for the adoption of the chartered colonies. The main point of universal and unqualified emancipation having been secured, little doubt is entertained that the concurrence of the planters will be obtained to any system of regulations which seems best adapted to stimulate industry, to preserve order, and to protect property.

Thus, Lord Howick's plan proposes to abolish slavery at once,—to have no transition from slaves to freemen through the state of "apprenticed laborers," and no interval between the passing of the decree and the ultimate arrangement of the relations of master and laborer. But on looking at his plan, it will be seen that there is little difference between "apprenticed laborers" and those free laborers whom he proposes to create.

It would be needless, however, to enter further at present into the comparison of plans, only one of which is as yet fully developed. We have no doubt that many of the provisions to be found in the bill, or bills, about to be introduced will resemble those already published, and we shall not be so unjust as to deny the merit of many of the suggestions contained in these "rejected" proposals of the noble Lord.

Though we have left ourselves no room to comment upon the debate of last night, we cannot omit to state the chief modifications which Mr. Stanley has introduced into his original resolutions. We always objected, it will be remembered, to that part of his project which imposed upon the negro the necessity of paying for his own emancipation by appropriating the fruits of the one fourth part of his toils received from his master during his apprenticeship for that purpose. The planters were equally averse to defray the interest and redeem the principal of a sum of money which was intended to indemnify them for being deprived of their former control over the entire labor of their slaves. The right hon. gentleman and the Government have yielded to the arguments employed in behalf of the planter and the negro, and now propose to relieve both from the burden which the former condition of the loan would impose. Who, therefore, is to bear the loss, or to pay the interest and liquidate the debt? The country? No; or at least, not the country from its present revenue, or from a revenue unconnected with the colonies. The Government propose, for meeting the in-

terest of this loan, to raise the duties on sugar from 2*s.* the present rate, to 27*s.* which they were before 1830. The country, indeed, will still bear the expense, though the revenue will be raised on colonial produce. The question comes to be, whether the additional duty may not, by decreasing the consumption of sugar, neutralize the benefit of the loan to the planter. Indeed, we do not see why a tax, which the public is obliged to pay, should be laid particularly on colonial produce, because it is devoted to a colonial object, if that duty would otherwise be impolitic when levied for the general purposes of the empire. But in whatever manner the loan is to be paid, we never had the least hope that it would be redeemed by the planters, and we always felt a strong repugnance that it should be redeemed by the negro.

As a consequence of this change of plan, an important addition will be made to the relief to be administered to the "apprenticed laborer," and we think an important improvement will be made in the project. The laborer will now be enabled to devote his fourth or spare time to his own benefit, and, if so minded, may employ the money accumulated by his wages to shorten his term of apprenticeship.

Which is right?—Much interest is felt throughout the country, in regard to the traffic in ardent spirits in the colony of Liberia. The existence of the traffic is now admitted by the Colonization Society, and deplored by them. The question recurs, how can it be helped? Who is to blame for it? Who has the power to help it? That there is a grave question here; will appear by the following quotations. The first is from an efficient article in the African Repository, in reply to Mr. Arthur Tappan's letter.

"It is competent of course, for the Board to strangle the direct trade in this pernicious article by very heavy duties, or by absolute prohibition. One or the other of these measures would undoubtedly have been adopted, had the Board been satisfied that it would remedy the evil. But well founded apprehensions existed, on the one hand, that the most severe restrictions would prove inadequate to countervail the smugglers; and, on the other, the natives finding that they could no longer obtain ardent spirits from vessels trading with the Colony, would resort for it to the slaves."

The other is from an article in the last Boston Recorder, evidently written by some one familiar with the affairs of the Society, and who seems to write as one having authority.

"The Colonization Society has no power to lay an embargo on the passage of ardent spirits, or any other articles of trade, through the Colony, though it sends none. The Society draft the laws for the Colony, but the Colonists have the power of veto. Hence they refused to submit to a tax of 50 per cent *ad valorem* on the importation of spirits, and received a law only when the duty was reduced to 25 per cent, as more consonant to the general state of the market in that part of the world, while at the same time they submitted to the imposition of a tax of \$300 for a license to sell spirits in the Colony, which amounts to a prohibition.

The simple question is, who governs Liberia? Is its government in such hands that we can depend upon the Colony for a good influence upon Africa.

J. L.